

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0466

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: TREATMENT OF EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL

REF: (A) MBFR VIENNA 0455; (B) MBFR VIENNA 0462

1. THE DELEGATION CONTINUES TO THINK THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH THE WARSAW PACT FREEZE PROPOSAL IS A DEFINITIVE AND RAPID ALLIED REJECTION WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 10.

2. OUR MAIN CONCERN WITH THE IDEA OF A COUNTER-PROPOSAL IS THAT, FIRST, FOR THE ALLIES TO MAKE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL FOR A FREEZE WOULD HAVE THE UNAVOIDABLE, SIGNIFICANT DRAWBACK THAT IN MAKING IT, THE ALLIES WOULD BE COMMITTING THEMSELVES IN PRINCIPLE TO A FREEZE. THE OPEN ISSUE

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WOULD BE THE CONDITIONS. SECOND, IF THE ALLIES

MAKE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL, WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION MAY NOT ACCEPT AS ESSENTIAL THE SPECIFIC REASONS -- VAGUENESS OF THE COMMITMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREED DATA AND OPPOSITION TO NATIONAL CEILINGS -- WHICH THE ALLIES ARE ATTACHING TO THEIR COUNTER-PROPOSAL.

3. AS A RESULT, THE ALLIES MAY BE DRIVEN INTO A LONG EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST ABOUT A FORCE FREEZE WHICH WILL DIVERT ATTENTION AND EMPHASIS FROM THE TRUE BUSINESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THE ALLIES MIGHT EVEN END UP WITH A FREEZE COMMITMENT WHICH IN EFFECT GAVE THE EAST PERHAPS THE MAIN THING IT WANTS IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, CONTROLS OVER THE FEDERAL GERMAN FORCES, WITH NO COMMENSURATE GAINS FOR THE WEST.

5. BECAUSE IT IS DIFFICULT TO VISUALIZE A SITUATION IN WHICH THE ALLIES WOULD NOT BE OBLIGED TO EXTEND THIS FREEZE, THIS LEVERAGE WOULD BE GONE FOR THE DURATION OF NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE DELEGATION PARTICIPATED IN DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTER DRAFT WITH FRG AND UK REPS AND FORWARDED IT TO WASHINGTON AGENCIES IN MBFR VIENNA 0462 AS AN AID TO DECISION-MAKING ON THE BASIS OF CLEAR ALTERNATIVES AND SO THAT THOSE ALLIES WOULD HAVE THE DELEGATION VIEWS ON POINTS TO BE COVERED IN ANY COUNTER-PROPOSAL.

7. WE THINK A COUNTER-PROPOSAL SHOULD BE USED ONLY IF A HARD US PROBE WITH THE ALLIES SHOWS THAT THERE IS STRONG ALLIED INTEREST IN THE COUNTER-PROPOSAL IDEA TO THE EXTENT THAT THESE ISSUES OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY ARE SO IMPORTANT AS TO OUTWEIGH THE DRAWBACKS OF A FREEZE FOR THE ALLIED POSITION.

8. AGAINST HIS BACKGROUND, OUR RECOMMENDED COURSE IS (A) FOR THE US TO COME INTO NATO WITH AN ANALYSIS WHICH SETS FORTH CLEARLY THE DEFECTS OF THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, INCLUDING THE POINT MADE ABOVE ABOUT
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THE FRG AND THE FACT THAT THE PRESENT TEXT CONTAINS A CATCH-ALL CLAUSE WHICH COULD EFFECTIVELY RULE OUT FORCE IMPROVEMENTS DESPITE THE EASTERN CLAIMS THE FREEZE DEALS ONLY WITH MANPOWER. (B) IF, DESPITE THIS ANALYSIS, SOME ALLIES PERSIST WITH THE IDEA OF A COUNTER-PROPOSAL, WE SUGGEST THAT THE US THEN IMMEDIATELY PROPOSE AS A COMPROMISE THE IDEA OF TELLING THE EAST THE ALLIES WERE CONTINUING TO STUDY THE PROPOSAL, BUT

GIVING THE FULL REASONS FOR HAVING RESERVATIONS ABOUT IT, AND STATING THAT THESE RESERVATIONS WERE STRONGLY HELD. THE ALLIES WOULD TELL THE WESTERN PUBLIC IN THE EVENT OF AN EASTERN LEAK ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL THAT ALLIED GOVERNMENTS WERE STUDYING THE PROPOSAL BUT WERE HIGHLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT IT. THE ALLIES WOULD GIVE THE PUBLIC IN FULL THE REASONS WHY THIS WAS THE CASE.

9. THIS APPROACH IS INTENDED TO BE A CONCLUSIVE REJECTION IN PRACTICE, BUT TO AVOID THE POSSIBLE PUBLIC ONUS OF HAVING DONE SO IF THE EAST GOES PUBLIC. FOR IT TO BE EFFECTIVE, THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO AGREE INTERNALLY ON THIS POINT IN ADVANCE AND AVOID ANY FORMULATIONS EITHER WITH THE EAST OR TO THE PUBLIC WHICH SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES WERE CONTEMPLATING A COUNTER-PROPOSAL. IT WOULD BE OUR VIEW THAT IF THE EAST LEAKS THE PROPOSAL, THE WEST WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO GAIN SUFFICIENT PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING FOR ITS SUBSTANTIVE POSITION TO ENCOURAGE THE ALLIES TO MAKE A DEFINITIVE REJECTION IN JANUARY. IF, CONTRARY TO THIS EXPECTATION, AND THE ALLIES HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING THE NEGOTIATIONS BACK TO MORE PROFITABLE SUBJECT MATTER, THE ALLIES WOULD NOT BE PRECLUDED FROM MOVING TO A COUNTER-PROPOSAL IN THE LONGER RUN.

10. ONLY IF THE COMPROMISE OUTLINED ABOVE DID NOT SUCCEED WITH THE ALLIES AND THERE WAS RISK OF REAL DAMAGE TO ALLIED COHESION WOULD WE SUGGEST THAT THE US JOIN OTHER ALLIES IN THE COUNTER-PROPOSAL IDEA.

11. IF THE GENERAL APPROACH ABOVE IS TO BE FOLLOWED, THE US SHOULD HAVE READY A USABLE COUNTER-PROPOSAL TEXT ON THE LINES OF THE ONE WE HAVE PROPOSED
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AND USE IT AS THE BASIS FOR SPC DRAFTING OF A COUNTER-PROPOSAL, SO THAT THE ALLIES WILL NOT LOSE VALUABLE TIME OR GET SADDLED WITH AN INFERIOR TEXT IF THE FINAL DECISION IS FOR A COUNTER-PROPOSAL.

12. UNDER ANY APPROACH, IT CONTINUES ESSENTIAL THAT NATO AGREE PRIOR TO DECEMBER 10 ON A PUBLIC LINE SETTING FORTH THE FULL RANGE OF ITS OBJECTIONS TO THE PRESENT EASTERN PROPOSAL SO AS NOT TO LEAVE THE EAST IN A POSITION TO MAKE UNCONTESTED PROPAGANDA FOR ITS FREEZE PROPOSAL, THUS INTENSIFYING THE PROBLEM FOR THE ALLIES. RESOR

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